

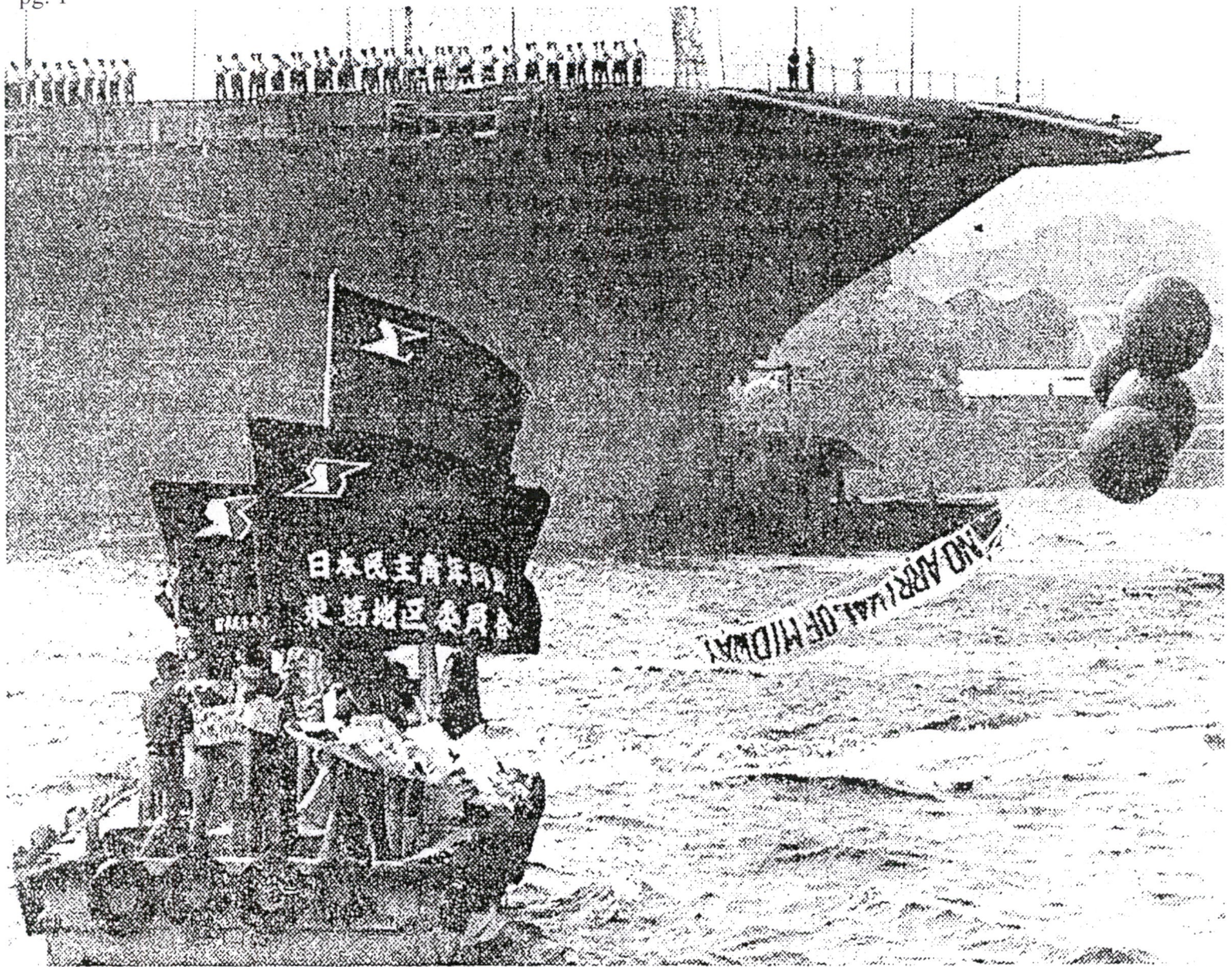
Japan's Nuclear Furor: Treasured Illusion Is Sullied: News A Popular Hero Is Denounced Vi

By HENRY SCOTT STOKES Special to The New York Times

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PROTESTERS GREET MIDWAY IN JAPAN: Sailors line deck of the U.S. aircraft carrier as it cruises past demonstrators near naval base at Yokosuka. An analysis of the debate on American nuclear arms in Japan appears on page 2.

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Japan's Nuclear Furor: Treasured Illusion Is Sullied

By HENRY SCOTT STOKES

Special to The New York Times

TOKYO, June 5 — Japan is a nation enormously attached to formality, decorum and to a politeness that verges on the exquisite.

There is a way to do things and a way not to. Anyone who steps out of line is likely to get into trouble.

"The nail that sticks out shall be hammered down," a proverb says.

This formality governs even political debate. In politics, adherence to established principle, whether realistic or not, is greatly valued. Sudden changes without warning are anathema to the Japanese.

All this is apparent from the debate over disclosures by a former American Ambassador, Dr. Edwin O. Reischauer, of an understanding between the United States and Japanese Governments that allows American ships armed with nuclear weapons to visit Japan. This is in apparent defiance of Government principles that Japan shall not produce, possess or allow nuclear arms to be brought here. The principles are a legacy of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945.

A Popular Hero Is Denounced

Dr. Reischauer is, or was, one of the best-loved and respected Americans in Japan. His fluent Japanese, his knowledge of the nation's history and culture and his tenure as envoy from 1961 to 1966 combined to make him a major figure in American-Japanese relations for two decades.

The Harvard professor, who is retiring soon, was consulted in the past by Japanese prime ministers and invited here for seminars and to give talks.

So it was extraordinary to hear Dr. Reischauer denounced in Parliament this week. Foreign Minister Sunao Sonoda, asked repeatedly Monday for his views on the former envoy's remarks on the nuclear weapons, blew up.

"I have never met Dr. Reischauer," he said. "But he is an uncalled-for meddler who pokes his nose into matters that are absolutely none of his business."

Violations of Convention

He called Mr. Reischauer the worst-mannered person he had ever heard of.

What went wrong from a Japanese viewpoint?

Dr. Reischauer seemed to suggest, at least in the Japanese view, that their ob-



Japanese Foreign Minister Sunao Sonoda, above, denounced Dr. Edwin O. Reischauer, former U.S. Ambassador. Protests have marked arrival of carrier Midway.



United Press International; Associated Press

jections to nuclear weapons were unrealistic; he reminded the Japanese, perhaps inadvertently, of their dependence on the American military shield, and he appeared to violate an unspoken Japanese convention that things do not become real until you speak of them.

The Japanese dislike of nuclear weapons, Mr. Sonoda said, was not "just an allergy like nettle rash." It stemmed, he said, from knowledge of the tragedy of nuclear war.

What Mr. Sonoda truly objected to, he said, was Dr. Reischauer's belief that the Japanese objections to nuclear weapons were unrealistic and his belief that it was time to cure the Japanese of their outdated dislike of nuclear arms. Mr. Sonoda rejected "uncalled-for meddling in Japanese affairs" by an American citizen who "boasted" that his country was a superpower.

On Thursday, Mr. Sonoda expanded his criticism to include the United States

Government. He objected to Reagan Administration plans to reduce its share of the cost of the United Nations budget. "The United States should not carry on like a boss unless it pays its dues," he said.

Criticism In the Press

Normally pro-American commentators for the Asahi newspaper also criticized the United States. Yasushi Hara and others who usually laud good relations between Japan and the United States rejected, as did Mr. Sonoda, what they saw as American attempts to break down Japanese resistance to nuclear weapons.

Public anger had been expected to come to a head this week with the arrival of the carrier Midway at the American naval base at Yokosuka. It was believed here that the ship was almost certainly carrying nuclear weapons.

During the debate on Dr. Reischauer's remarks, there had been demands from opposition politicians that the Government prohibit the ship from returning to the base, which is, in effect, the home port of the Seventh Fleet. The Government refused the demands and allowed the ship to return.

Enormous left-wing protest rallies were expected. Newspapers sent planes to film the Midway on its way back to Japan from Subic Bay in the Philippines, and 18 helicopters circled the carrier as it came into dock, according to American military officials.

But all went well. There was no violence other than by rightists who were arrested after they attacked leftist and non-violent demonstrators with iron pipes.

The puzzle then is why there was so little resistance despite the furor in Parliament and the press.

The answer appears to lie in Japan's love of formality and decorum.

It's all right, the Japanese seem to believe, for American ships to bring nuclear weapons here provided it is not done blatantly. As long as the weapons are not flaunted, then American arrogance is not sensed.

Another Statement Arouses Ire

But that is as far as it goes. A statement by Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger last week that the United States had the "right" to defend Japan upset the Japanese — because of the perceived implication that the American occupation continues — almost as much as anything Dr. Reischauer said.

Meanwhile, Japanese commentators cling to the "fiction," as described here, that no nuclear weapons are brought into Japan. In an article headlined, "Let's Keep Nuke 'Fiction' Alive," Shizuo Suzuki of the Mainichi newspaper argued as follows:

"Should the Japanese recognize the existence of nuclear arms aboard the U.S. Navy ships, it would undoubtedly open the way to transforming Japan into a nuclear superpower."

"People are feeling the resurgence of militarism and are reacting against it," he wrote. "Their common sense tells them that they must keep the 'fiction' alive if they are to hold the military down."

So the impression is that Dr. Reischauer stirred up a hornet's nest here because his remarks coincided with a perceived threat from the right in Japan. It was not that he said anything that was intrinsically new to the Japanese, but that he said it at all.